

Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-14 AID-20 ACDA-19 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01

PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 SCI-06 EB-11 NIC-01 OMB-01

TRSE-00 IGA-02 COME-00 OTPE-00 DRC-01 /164 W

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R 200942Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1264

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USUN 663

C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 1735

EO 11652 GDS

TAGS PFOR TW

SUBJECT: GROC VIEWS ON CHIREP TACTICS

1. SUMMARY : CHIREP PROBLEMS IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS CONFRONT GROC WITH HARD CHOICES INVOLVING QUESTIONS OF IDEOLOGY AND NATIONAL PRESTIGE. SINCE UN EXPULSION, MOFA HAS LOST ITS CENTRAL ROLE, WITH TACTICAL PLANNING LARGELY DEVOLVING UPON MINISTRIES DIRECTLY AFFECTED BY MEMBERSHIP (E.G. FINANCE MINISTRY PLAYS CENTRAL ROLE REGARDING ROC PARTICIPATION IN IFI'S).

THIS DECENTRALIZATION HAS ENCOURAGED PRAGMATIC APPROACH TO MEMBERSHIP ISSUES, BUT FOREIGN MINISTER AND SOME KMT SENIORS STILL INJECT A COMPLICATING IDEOLOGICAL NOTE. END SUMMARY.

2. RECENT LETTER FROM EA/ROC RAISES QUESTION OF WHETHER GROC IS SATISFIED WITH TACTICS US HAS ADOPTED IN RECENT PAST TO HELP PRESERVE ROC MEMBERSHIP IN REMAINING INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS IFI'S, INTELSAT, ETC; GROC SOMETIMES LEAVES THE IMPRESSION THAT IT MORE CONCERNED WITH RINGING
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REAFFIRMATION OF US SUPPORT THAN WITH RETAINING MEMBERSHIP

THROUGH PARLIAMENTARY MANEUVERING AND DELAYING TACTICS.

3. CHIREP ISSUE CONFRONTS GROC WITH EXCEEDINGLY DIFFICULT CHOICES INVOLVING QUESTIONS OF IDEOLOGY, PRESTIGE AND INTERNATIONAL STATUS, ALL WITH POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS LOCALLY. CONSISTENT ADOPTION OF A "TWO CHINAS" STANCE HAS SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS FOR PRESENT STRUCTURE OF GOVT AND LEGAL SYSTEM, WHILE MAINTAINING HARD "ONE CHINA" POSITION ALMOST SURELY MEANS DEFEAT. (PARENTHETICALLY, IT SHOULD BE NOTED "TWO CHINAS" STANCE RAISES PROBLEMS FOR USG AS WELL.) PROBLEM IS FURTHER COMPLICATED BY FACT THAT NO TACTICS HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY SUCCESSFUL.

4. SINCE EXPULSION FROM UN, MOFAA IS NO LONGER THE PRICIPAL FORMULATOR OF GOVT POLICY WITH RESPECT TO THOSE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS TO WHICH ROC STILL BELONGS. INSTEAD THE SEVERAL MINISTRIES NOW PLAN TACTICS FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS WITHIN THEIR FIELD OF COMPETENCE. THUS FINANCE MINISTRY IS RESPONSIBLE FOR IFI'S, MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATIONS FOR INTELSAT, ETC. MOFA IS SUPPOSED TO EXERCISE OVERALL COORDINATING ROLE, BUT THIS USUALLY IS HONORED IN THE BREACH AND MOFA OFFICIALS NORMALLY SUGGEST EMBOFFS DISCUSS PROBLEMS DIRECTLY WITH MINISTRIES CONCERNED.

5. DECENTRALIZATION TO MINISTRIES HAS EMPHASIZED PRAGMATIC, PROBLEM-ORIENTED APPROACH TO DEALING WITH CHIREP ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. MINISTERS SUCH AS HENRY KAO, FOR EXAMPLE, NOT ONLY ARE AWARE OF BENEFITS ACCRUING FROM MEMBERSHIP; THEY ALSO DO NOT WANT TO BEAR THE ONUS OF HAVING TO EXPLAIN IN CABINET MEETING WHY ROC WAS OUSTED. THEY THEREFORE ARE MORE LIKELY THAN FONMIN SHEN MIGHT BE TO TREAT CHIREP ISSUES PRIMARILY AS MATTERS OF TACTICS RATHER THAN PRICIPLE. IN RECENT CONVERSATION WITH POLCOUNS ON CHIREP IN IFI'S, FINANCE MINISTER K.T. LI REMARKED THAT WHILE WINNING ON THE BASIS OF PRINCIPLE IS ALWAYS DESIRABLE, WINNING ON BASIS OF PARLIAMENTARY MANEUVERING IS PREFERABLE TO LOSING ON BASIS OF PRINCIPLE.

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6. FOR THE RECORD, K.T. LI AND HIS DEPUTY, WANG SHAO-YU, BOTH HAVE EXPRESSED GRATITUDE FOR US ASSISTANCE IN IFI'S, WHILE HENRY KAO WAS PARTICULARLY EFFUSIVE WITH REGARD TO INTELSAT. KAO WAS QUITE FRANK IN ACKNOWLEDGING THAT OUSTER FROM INTELSAT WOULD HAVE BEEN DAMAGING TO HIM PERSONALLY.

7. IF ISSUE WERE POSED STARKLY AS CHOICE BETWEEN
"ABANDONING PRINCIPLE" AND STAYING IN, VS. "MAINTAINING
NATIONAL HONOR" AND LOSING, PROBABLY NO RESPONSIBLE
GOVT OFFICIAL WOULD FEEL HIMSELF ABLE TO OPT FOR FORMER
COURSE. FONMIN SHEN AND SOME SENIOR PARTY OFFICIALS IN
FACT TEND TO VIEW CHIREP PROBLEMS IN JUST THIS STARK
WAY. WHEN GROG HAS SHOWN TACTICAL
FLEXIBILITY, IT USUALLY IS BECAUSE
THE OPERATING MINISTRY HAS BEEN ABLE TO POSE THE ISSUE AS
A PROBLEM FOR SOLUTION RATHER THAN AS A QUESTION OF
IDEOLOGICAL ORTHODOXY.
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